





# ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Friend of Man.  
A Voice from Wales.

Of all the eloquent appeals that have yet reached us from across the great waters, on the subject of emancipation, we have met with nothing more affecting and weighty than the following. It comes from the mountains of Wales—in the spirit and power of the almost inspired CHRISTIAN EVANS. Weichmen, we are assured, will respond to it, from their inmost souls. And is it not enough to break the heart of an American?

To the Editor of the Friend of Man:

DEAR SIR:—The following communication was sent to me from my native country (Wales) with the request that I would circulate it, through some suitable medium, among the Welsh people in America. Our brethren there, it seems, are anxious we should all do our duty in relation to the poor, neglected and much injured slave within our borders. I have just returned from a visit to North Wales and know something of their sentiments and feelings there upon this important and interesting subject. They are anxious at our inactivity—that we, the freest nation on earth, should act as we do. It can hardly seem to them credible that Christian people among us should refuse to do what is so reasonable and so Scriptural as to pay suitable wages to those who work for them, and cease to buy and sell men as beasts of the field! and these two things done, they say, would be virtually and essentially to give the slave his freedom; for it would be to treat them as men and not as beasts. They suppose that all people in the United States have a right to petition Congress with reference to that part of the business of emancipation which belongs to them to perform; and among others, they think that the Welsh people inhabiting the states of America, ought to come forward as a body, and utter their impassioned cry in the ear of Congress, entreating them to consider the case of the oppressed and to do justice without delay. Will you please to give room to this communication, just as it is, in your paper. It will be better understood by many, and more highly appreciated if they have it in their own language.

Yours, &c. R. EVERETT.

[It is published in their own language in the Friend of Man, and the following translation appended:]

The Welsh people convened in county assemblies in Merionethshire, Carnarvonshire, and Montgomeryshire, in the month of May and June, 1837, send greetings, to the Welsh people in America, with reference to the condition of slaves in that immense country.

DEAR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW CHRISTIANS:

We understand that America is to you a free country, and that it excels in its liberal principles all other countries upon the globe. But to more than 2,500,000 of your fellow beings it is not a free country! It is a fertile country; but it contains slaves! It is a rich country; but there are slaves in it who possess nothing! It contains many eminent men, learned in the arts and sciences, but it also contains slaves! You have stations, high in reputation, but you have slaves also, which show that your senators do not enact for the people equal laws! There are, in your country, many humane and kind philanthropists, but there are also by their side, slaves, whom they do not love as they do themselves. There are many Christians in your country, but there are in it also many slaves! You have had precious revivals, but slavery, in its most hideous forms, still exists amongst you. Your country has within it very many institutions and societies to mediate the condition of the human family, both at home and abroad, but it still has slaves within its borders! This evil outweighs all the good which it contains; it is a black cloud which darkens all its brightness and glory, in the eyes of other nations of the earth, in the sight of heaven, and in the sight of God, the Ruler of the universe.

DEAR WELSHMEN IN AMERICA! We entreat of you earnestly and affectionately to use all suitable and lawful means, in co-operation with your fellow citizens, to remove this curse from your fair land. Yes, we entreat of you, for the sake of America, a country which we love dearly, that she be not destroyed for this her sin, and that she may yet prosper in all good; for the sake of the oppressed, themselves who have reaped your fields, and whose wages have been retained, and their cry has come up to the ears of the Lord of Sabbath! for the sake of all that is lovely and tender in feeling and conscience, endeavor to obtain liberty for the captive! We entreat of you for the sake of the general spread of correct principles upon the subject of human liberty throughout the world, which is greatly retarded by the fact that slavery exists and is nurtured in America; for the sake of the honor of our common Christianity, which is evil spoken of among barbarous nations on this account; and finally, for the sake of the honor of American liberty itself! America! so abundantly free, and yet bound! Freedom itself is in bondage wherever slavery is suffered to exist!

We have been laboring, with others, for the same object, in the British dominions, and have to a great extent succeeded. So will you also be successful, if you will persevere unto the end. We shall expect to hear of your fidelity in this thing; to see it recorded in the annals of your country that you have not been lacking in fidelity to the forlorn and dejected slave. And soon shall we expect to hear of a glorious triumph in the cause of freedom, and to read it in your social communications to your friends and relatives at home, that the will of God is done in America as it is done in heaven, where injustice and oppression are unknown for ever!

This Memorial was unanimously adopted in the assemblies named above, and signed by our ministers present in behalf and in the name of the assemblies.

Signed, EDWARD DAVIS,  
WILLIAM JONES,  
WILLIAM WILLIAMSON, and  
above 30 others.

P. S.—Will the ministers or other officers of the Welsh churches read the above memorial, from their brethren in Wales, to their respective congregations, the first opportunity.

From Augustus Wattles.

Including a letter from John Wattles—Prosperity of colored settlers in Indiana—Do black men love their country?—Can't take care of themselves?—&c.

HARDIN, Oct. 6, 1837.

Dear Bro. Wright:—I received your letter directed to Troy the same week that it was mailed. I don't know of any little thing that has thrilled through me producing long vibrations of heart, than the sympathy you have for my labors out here in the woods. If I succeeded in persuading the colored people to become owners of the soil—good husbandmen and mechanics, I am abundantly paid for all that I can do—and then to have the kindest feelings of kind friends enlisted for me, rejoicing in my success, gives a balance in my favor greater than I can express.

I have seen many settlements of poor white people, who were only able to buy their land, say 40 acres, on 80 or 160, and then move on it with only an axe and a cow, and then, after working four or five years, their property will be worth several hundred dollars, and they will be comparatively independent. Owning cattle, horses and hogs, sufficiently to make their circumstances quite easy. In fact, all the fine farms that we see around us, were opened and improved by our fathers. Colored men must make themselves independent and respectable in the same manner that other men do. They can do it, as you will see by what follows, from my brother John. He writes, Sept. 21, from Cabin Creek, Indiana.

"I came here from Greenville. First called on Thos. Robison, a shoe maker—came from Va. a year ago—rents a farm, and also has as much work as he can do at his trade—does about \$20 worth of work per month—owns a town lot, in an adjoining town—bought his wife, paid \$200, for her—is a pretty good scholar, teaches his children at home, they had their books as soon as they were up in the morning getting their lesson, and he was on his bench—wanted a school very much.

"Thos. Wilkerson owns 192 acres of land—about 20 cleared—17 in corn—7 head of cattle—3 hogs—5 sheep. Was a slave till he was 36 years old. He was to have been free at 38, by the will of his master, but a Methodist minister married his mistress and kept him in ignorance of it till she died, then through her entreaties set him free, but did not pay him a cent for his four years labor. Has had his barn burnt and every thing burnt up in it, but has started again and is now doing well.

"Jeremiah Fry owns 82 acres—32 cleared—18 in corn—5 sheep—and 3 horses—was a slave till he was 37,

then ran away; but afterwards bought himself—hired himself out to two men for seven years, and they paid the price of his body—as he says "worked out his bones salvation"—has scars on his head where his master beat him when drunk. Although he is now past 70 years of age, he is as lively as a boy. To hear him tell his adventures when getting away, would make you cry, but to see him act it all out would make you laugh. Was taken up one time at St. Mary's. By sudden death the contractor for the army, and sent by a party of Indians down the river to Fort Wayne—was most cruelly treated by them, and all but scalped. The white men had followed him vigorously, and coming in at the instant, the Indian got hold of his hair, stopped him. At St. Mary's, Mai. Vose having heard of him, sent him with a guard to Richmond, where he lived till he got his land, and came to live on it. He was the first one of the first colored settlers on Cabin Creek.

"Richard Robison owns 240 acres of land—40 cleared—20 in corn—5 in wheat—4 horses—2 cows—8 sheep—45 hogs—3 acres orcharding, bearing full.

"Martin Scott, a cabinet maker; does good business; work amounts to 65 or 70 dollars per month; has a large two story shop, well furnished with tools; as good work in his shop as any that I have seen in the Western States; has upwards of 3000 ft of lumber on hand; generally employs journeymen; own 240 acres of land; 20 under fence; 9 in corn; 7 cattle; 3 horses. His father and brother carry on the farm.

When I first commenced conversation with the old gentleman inquiring into his circumstances, &c., he looked distressed, and answered, "Why?" "Do you want we should go away?" No, said I, I want you to stay here. "God bless you," said the old man, and his countenance cheered up as though he had seen a friend. "We've been troubled enough," he continued, "by those who want us to go away, but we don't want to go away. We want to be republicans, and love our country, and have an interest in our country, and have a country to love." I took down his words as we sat on the log where he was burning and clearing for wheat. They came from the deep places of his heart.

"Matthew Charns, owns 320 acres, has 20 cleared, 125 deeded, 2 horses, 2 cows, 12 hogs.

"I talked to them one evening, about education and the course to be pursued for their elevation. They have had a school now and then a few weeks or months at a time. They are very anxious to have a school here this winter, and for this I stand pledged on your responsibility.

"There are in the settlement thirty nine families, ninety adults, upwards of one hundred children, sixty-three that can attend a school, eight of the ninety can read a newspaper tolerably well. They own collectively, 3,226 acres of land, mostly a beech country, though other timber is scattered amongst it. The land is high and mostly dry and warm. Twenty-four have been slaves, mostly emancipated by their masters. There are two blacksmiths and one carpenter.

"Benjamin Outland, one of the blacksmiths, has a good shop and set of tools, does a good deal of work—employs a journeyman—owns one hundred and sixty acres of land, twelve cleared, 8 acres in corn, 2 horses, 8 hogs.

"Taking into consideration that the settlement is only eight years old, I think it exceeds in improvements all the settlements that I have seen in the western country, white or black, that has no other advantages than a common country town. There seems to be a good feeling among them, more so than is common in new settlements.

In labor and love, your brother,

AUGUSTUS WATTLES.

Value of Trial by Jury.

[From the Speech of the Hon. Francis James in the Senate of Pennsylvania.]

It is the boast of an Englishman, it is as justly the pride and glory of a white American, that he cannot be deprived of his liberty or property by lawless violence. Nothing short of the verdict of a jury, can rightfully affect him in the uncontrolled disposition of either the one or the other. Take from him the right of trial by jury, and you dispossess him of the most valuable of his political privileges. You remove the corner stone of that structure which has for its material the institution of his country, and as a consequence, involve the whole in a common ruin.

We have lately had some deplorable examples of the folly and wickedness, which must always attend a departure from this legitimate mode of determining the guilt or innocence of the accused. Mr. Chairman, I need but name the Vicksburg tragedy, to bring vividly to your recollection all the horrors of that murderous transaction. But, sir, Vicksburg stands not alone in deeds of a like description. Other places within the borders of our fair named Union are fairly entitled to dispute with the actors in that horrid affair, the honors of an unenviable immortality. These extraordinary outbreaks of popular violence, serve as terrible admonitions to us, to avoid the paths that might lead to similar outrages, and evince the powerful necessity that rests upon us to preserve unimpaired our right of trial by jury. It is, however, unnecessary for me to dwell longer on the benefits which flow to us from the possession of this inestimable privilege. It is a priceless jewel, and no encoium of mine can tend to raise it in the estimation of the people of this commonwealth. But I cannot forego the opportunity which here offers to lay before the committee the opinion of Sir William Blackstone, of the trial by jury. After treating of the various matters connected with this mode of trial, he says, "upon these accounts the trial by jury ever has been, and I trust ever will be looked upon, as the English law. And if it has so great an advantage over others in regulating civil property, how much must that advantage be heightened when it is applied to criminal cases! But this we must refer to the ensuing book of these commentaries: only observing for the present that it is the most transcendent privilege which any subject can enjoy or wish for, that he cannot be affected either in his property, his liberty, or his person, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of his neighbors and equals. A constitution that I may venture to affirm has under Providence secured the just liberties of this nation for a long succession of ages. And therefore a celebrated French writer who concludes that because Rome, Carthage, and Sparta, have lost their liberties, that therefore those of England in time must perish, should have recollected, that Rome, Carthage, and Sparta, at the time when their liberties were lost, were strangers to the trial by jury." A privilege thus highly valued, should not be partial in its application, in a state claiming to be among the most free. It should be extended to all alike, to the poor as well as to the rich, to the weak, as well as to the powerful.

COMMUNICATIONS.

The subjoined is a true copy of a communication sent to the Hennepin Journal and rejected, as you may see in the last week's paper, October 10, 1837, which I would be glad to see in the Philanthropist.

WM. M. STEWART.

What the Hennepin Journal should have Published.

(For the Hennepin Journal.)

FLORIDA, September 23, 1837.

Mr. Editor:—Kind sir, I beg leave to say a few very few words in relation to your "oto" veto in your editorial of the 14th inst. This pledge I think was wrong; though no doubt you meant it for good. In my strictures at this time, I intend to treat you with perfect kindness, and not say one word either for or against the topic to which the veto has reference. But in the course of my remarks I will be compelled to have frequent recurrence to the subject which was thereby to be excluded from the columns of your paper; in this, however, I will aim at fairness, and not attempt in any way to argue the main question either for or con.

Task, sir, why is it improper to discuss the subject of slavery? Is it so perfect in all its parts; so just and humane in all its character; so obviously kind and beneficial in its practical bearings on mankind; and so truly benevolent and holy in its nature, that one cannot say a word or move a finger against it, without incurring the guilt of treason, sacrilege, or blasphemy? What is there in the circumstance of our country, in the nature of truth, or your duty as an editor, which led you to take the "responsibility" of rejecting every communication of every kind

that might happen to have any remote bearing on the subject of slavery? It matters not how ably an article is written, or how important the subject on which it may treat, if it can be shown by the most minute mathematical calculation, or the strictest logical scrutiny, that it has the least taint of "that exciting topic," it must be rejected as unfit for the columns or the readers of the Journal. I believe this course will not satisfy one of your readers; for, as long as men are men they will talk, and think, and read on any subject they please; and most men will often choose those very subjects that excite the greatest amount of interest in the community. It is true, different men have their peculiar likes and dislikes as to what ought to be used for stimulants as well as for food; but every man is willing to be stimulated with something. There are several topics of a highly exciting tendency, which in all ages and countries are liable to produce deep and intense interest; but among these, there is not one that ever agitated the minds or distracted the councils of men, that is more generally taken to be of deep and vital importance, than the liberty and rights of mankind.

Slavery has become a very important personage, (if I may so speak); his friends are numerous and powerful; his interest is more or less incorporated with every department of one government; he has struck his fangs to the very centre of our federal and state institutions; has secured to himself large territory in our state, a snug place in our statutory laws; and figures majestically in our civil and church courts, and the jurisprudence of this free and happy land; and from the very nature of our social compact every man in the nation is bound, and every civil and military officer is sworn to sustain his pretensions. If the character of Mr. Slavery is assailed, he may adduce in defence of his principles and doings, the example of polite, learned and highly honored prelates; and of eminent generals, judges, justices and statesmen, and all these too, of true republican blood and democratic sentiments. In this free country, the glory of all countries, the boast of the world, slavery has grown to manhood; and to prolong his valuable life, and protect him from sickness, decay and dishonor, he has enlisted to be in his constant employ as body servants, or at a moment's warning, 1st, The pecuniary interest of his friends; 2d, His own ignorance and poverty; 3d, The sanctity and influence of the sacred desk, and 4th, The upstart wisdom and force of an enlightened and powerful nation. Wisdom in the simple provision made by our clergy for his soul, by the doctors for his body, and by the lawyers for the legal protection of his natural and inalienable rights. Force in a brave and well organized militia, spreading its wings and fostering care over the whole land; in well fortified forts, standing armies, and a powerful navy commanded by able and experienced officers, with the President of the United States at the "wheel." To this you may add thousands of presses, orators, writers, and more private individuals, bringing into requisition all their resources, as if to inundate the world with torrents of eloquence, and deep and pungent arguments, to show beyond a doubt to the incredulous, the wisdom, the tender mercies, and the truly republican and just principles of Mr. Slavery. And in justice to our hero the following list must be noticed as among his friends and advocates, viz, numerous legislative enactments for his sole and exclusive benefit, such as are vulgarly called gag-laws, and the whole variety code; Judge Lynch's law, with frequent mobs and the occasional use of the gallows; all united together in one solid phalanx, and exerting their mightiest energies for his well-being; (the offspring of ignorance and stupidity,) who has been suckled and dandled, rocked and nurtured up to maturity by the most profound republican nurses. What wonder then that Slavery should stalk abroad with a bold front, a firm and independent step, and bid defiance to all opposition; that he should be admitted to a seat at our best tables; to participate largely in the conversation of many polite and refined circles; and be allowed a place in our weekly newspapers. Hence we learn that Slavery is very popular; if then the principles of slavery are as right as they are popular, why should any one be afraid to have them examined? why not stripped naked and exhibited in all their native loveliness! "Truth is mighty and must prevail." Where then is the danger of laying the claims of Slavery side by side with Truth? If they are good they will suffer nothing by the comparison, but if bad, then it ought to be known. The more this subject is examined, the higher its importance will rise in the public estimation, and the greater will be conviction, that it is unwise not to discuss it freely and scrutinize it thoroughly.

It must be confessed there are matchless arguments and an overwhelming influence in favor of slavery, but there have ever been some, and the number is daily increasing, who think that all the boasted philanthropy of slavery is a perfect humbug; that his pretensions to humanity and justice are sheer hypocrisy; that he never has at any time or place been a blessing to any portion of the human family, and that the world would not sustain the least loss or inconvenience if he were dead and gone soul and body to eternity.

But, sir, if you adhere to this pledge what is gained? Surely not the furtherance of truth, for truth can bear the light, and never suffers by a fair and candid examination; nor will you oblige your subscribers, for however little some of them may be suited with a protracted discussion on slavery, still they will not bear laws or pledges to gag the press or free discussion. Slavery, like every thing else, is sustained by its own spirit. By this I mean, if slavery is bad, and only bad as some think, then it is sustained by bad men, by bad means, and for bad purposes. But if it is good as others think, then it may be sustained by good men for good purposes. One thing is certain, free presses and free discussion are so hostile to slavery that they cannot long remain in the same place.

By the freedom of the press and of speech alone can we hope to secure a healthy state of public opinion. These latter I believe are your own sentiments; I hope therefore you will recall your "oto" veto; that you will rig your bark anew, set it to the wind and sail as free as the gale that will waft you onward.

For the present I am done. If more has to be written it must be done by other and abler hands. I have said what I supposed was duty without any intention to harm or insult any one; and with the hope that a candid public would receive my humble mite, as an effort in the cause of truth and liberty, which cause I hope will prosper till all presses shall advocate free discussion and equal rights, till all men shall feel that the rights of others are as sacred as their own, and every one be as free as the air he breathes.

I am yours obediently,

WM. M. STEWART.

From, October 12, 1837.

To the Editor of the Philanthropist.

DEAR SIR, At the request of our common friend, I have taken my seat to give you some account of a man who came into this county sometime last Spring, or early in the Summer, who called himself Franklin White. He is a large, well made man, and seemed to have all the characteristics of a man; but his nose and the back of one of his hands were black, and it is said there was a black

spot on one of his knees, but this I did not see. Mr. White, very soon after he came to this country, went to work with one of our farmers about one mile from this place, where he remained in safety a few days; but not being fixed out as our free laws require, he was pursued by three or four white gentlemen from the last named place, and in less than two days they made Mr. White a prisoner, took him before Benjamin R. Shelden, J. P. of Hennepin, who committed him to James S. Simpson, Esq., who committed him to the common jail. On the same night, some 20 or 30 wags let him out, at a clear loss to the county of from two to three dollars. After five or six weeks these same gentlemen and some six or seven others, (all white,) armed with pitch-forks and other death-like weapons, and with an effort worthy of so noble a cause, succeeded in recapturing the aforesaid man with a black nose, and forthwith put him in prison the second time; when the sheriff with a party of well-armed men, being determined to support the supremacy of the law, guarded the prison for two or three nights without the least interruption. Mr. White was then taken out of prison by a writ of habeas corpus, issued by Wm. C. Ragan, Esq. Master in Chancery. After Mr. Ragan had fully heard the case, he remanded the prisoner back to jail, the place for criminals, though he was guilty of no crime, nor is there any statute in force in this State by which even a black man can lawfully be put in jail without crime. After which he was bailed out by some abolitionists at fifteen hundred dollars penalty.

His six weeks ran out;—no owner—he was then sold for one year at one dollar per month, soon after which he ran away, and it is supposed he has left this republican land of freedom for a land not governed by any man.

I will now give you an extract or two, to show you the spirit of democracy in Illinois. Rev. laws Ill. page 458: "Every person or persons neglecting or refusing to give a bond of \$1000 for the good behavior of any slave, he is about to emancipate in this State, shall forfeit and pay the sum of \$200 for the benefit of the county." Page 459, "Any person is liable to pay the sum of \$150 for each day he may employ a colored person without free papers." Page 463, "Bond or no bond, any person who shall set any slave free in this State, he shall be fined one hundred dollars." Same page, "If any person shall harbor such negro or mulatto, not having such certificate, and given bond, and taken a certificate thereof; or shall hire, or in any wise give sustenance to such negro or mulatto, not having such certificate of freedom, and of having given bond, shall be fined in the sum of five hundred dollars, and one-half thereof to the use of the county, and the other half to the party giving information." \$250 to hire a man to be infamous, and forced to from an innocent man for doing his duty; and \$250 more to sustain the dignity of the government! And what are all these fines for? Just for doing what the eternal principles of right require of any man, and what any honest man would do, any despotic law to the contrary notwithstanding. If you wish to know the essence of tyranny, and the quintessence of southern nabobism, read the slave laws of Illinois, and if you do not blush, the devil will.

Yours truly, AN AMERICAN.

Inconsistency.

"It seems to me that were I a president of the United States, I would glory in going to the Indians, throwing myself on my knees before them, and saying to them, Indians, friends, brothers, O forgive my countrymen! Deeply have our forefathers wronged you; and have forced us to continue in the wrong. Can you not forgive even us?"

"I believe that a magnanimity of sentiment like this, followed by a correspondent greatness on the part of the people of the United States, would go farther to bury the tomahawk and produce a fraternization with the Indians, than all the presents, treaties and missionaries that can be employed, dashed and defeated as these latter means always are, by a claim of rights on the part of the white people, which the Indians know to be false and baseless. Let me not be told that the Indians are too dark and fierce to be affected by generous and noble sentiments."

This well known passage from the "British Spy" does honor to the head and heart of its Author. The sentiment is as true as it is beautiful. We may not, indeed, subscribe every item which this quotation presents. But still, no one who has any knowledge of human nature, can, for a moment, doubt the happy tendency of the gentle, kind, magnanimous treatment suggested. The simple promptings moreover, of generous, unprejudiced nature are confirmed by an imposing array of indubitable facts. To name but one—"The History of the Colony of Penn" is an example strikingly illustrative of the power of forbearance, gentleness and justice over the fierce and vindictive spirit of the savage. These very traits too, gentleness, magnanimity, hold a conspicuous place in the catalogue of christian virtues—make an important part of that character which strongly expresses the purity and loveliness of the gospel of peace.

Pride and selfishness apart, thousands undoubtedly, in all parts of our land, have heartily responded to the truth as well as beauty of the sentiments just cited from the British Spy. And how is it possible, indeed, that any one who truly regards the honour of his country, whose bosom swells with generous and enlightened sympathy for the welfare of his fellow-creatures, could wish otherwise than the colonists of North America, the General and State governments had uniformly pursued towards the ancient inhabitants of the soil a course of greater gentleness, magnanimity and justice?

It would be amusing, were not momentous consequences at stake, to find the spontaneous suggestions of the heart, the deepest convictions of truth and duty respecting one subject, entirely overborne by prejudice and passion when they relate to another subject, which, for aught that the disinterested beholder can discern, is precisely similar in its moral bearings. It is in this way too, that men not unfrequently furnish their adversaries with weapons that may be wielded with tremendous power against themselves, to the destruction of their own loved and cherished opinions.

These abstract remarks have a forcible application to the slaveholder. He hesitates not to hold up the great and christian doctrine of restitution. He insists at once and strongly, that if one person has in any respect defrauded another, the injurer is bound by the laws of strict morality to make ample reparation. But this doctrine of restitution admitted, his pretended claim to property in man vanishes at once, unless, indeed, it can be shown that a man has a better, stronger right to his gold and silver, than to personal liberty, to the free exercise of his bodily, mental and moral powers.

So also, in respect to the Indians, he freely admits, from his inmost soul he feels, that a course of treatment characterized by kindness and magnanimity, would be far the most effective to repel hostility and suppress the fierce and vindictive spirit. But this admitted, what becomes of the notion every where so fiercely vindicated—that it would be unsafe, dangerous in the extreme, to break immediately the galling yoke from the neck of the slave? Has not the slave a heart as well as the Indian? Can not the African be affected and led by kindness and magnanimity as well as the fierce warriors of the woods. Or is the slaveholder forced to the acknowledgment that he has no intention to resort to this expedient—that with so many happy examples around him of the power of kindness and justice, he never intends to test their strength and safety in his own case!—that he is firmly resolved to trample in the dust his fellow-man so long as he can say that, his present conduct of oppression and cruelty continued, it would be dangerous to emancipate! It would appear abundantly evident that the slaveholder is compelled to take one or the other of these alternatives. To acknowledge that kindness and justice would be safe; or to own unflinchingly his determination to persist in his detestable course of tyranny. If he chooses the latter, the just and good throughout the world, can feel no difficulty in assigning him his appropriate grade in the ranks of human society!

Ignorance and Infatuation.  
Mr. Editor:—The following is an extract of a letter from a gentleman in the State of Mississippi, (near Vicksburg,) to his friend in Ohio:

"Tell the Abolitionists you speak of, that the South is always ready for them. We have lots of cowards, plenty of fat, and a few feathers. When the feathers give out, we will use cotton, a much better article. They must not think that the South is to be frightened by them; neither must they think that the whole North is with them; for there are thousands who flock to our standard and will die with us in the defence of our wives and children, our homes and our property. For my part, I do not believe that it is the freedom of the slave that actuates them. I believe it to be plunder; but they will find a band of Spartans to contend with: a band whose motto is victory over the Abolitionists or death. A land whose property will only be given up with their lives. Our watchword is, every man mind his own business. They are afraid to come among us, and boldly discuss the matter. When they do come, they come as a wolf in sheep's clothing. Some few have been caught and gently dressed and sent back, and more will be served in the same way if they come."

Now Mr. Editor, if you think the above extract is worthy a place in your paper, it is at your disposal. It is a true copy, word for word. You will discover from the writer's assertion, that the people of the North have something to do with slavery; if it be true, that there are thousands at the North who are ready to flock to the standard of slavery and will die with the South in its defence. Yet many of our folk at the North tell us, that they would willingly join in with us if there were any thing for them to do: there is no slavery at the North, they say, and consequently there is nothing for them to act upon. I can tell these good people, that if they can find none of the thing itself at the North, if they will look around them they will find much of the "dark spirit of slavery."

Yours, with much respect:

A friend to the cause of ABOLITION.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI, NOVEMBER 7, 1837.

The Emancipator—"Obvious Error."

In No. 88 of the Philanthropist, in an article entitled "New Measures," we remarked:—"Allow conscience so much latitude, as immediate measures for the earliest practicable emancipation, and the slave may groan forever. We do not talk about immediate measures for the earliest practicable repentance, or Sabbath-breaking or intemperance. If there be any case in which emancipation is impracticable, abolitionists have nothing to do with it. We know of no such case. Where there is a will there is a way."

We then proceeded as follows:—

"Even in those States where the laws prevent a formal deed of emancipation, it is quite practical for any individual substantially to emancipate his slaves.

"If he have money enough, let him send them out of the State.

"If he have not, let him tell them they are free, admonish them of the danger of staying where they are, and bid them God-speed to a free State."

"Or if they prefer to stay, let him tell them he looks upon them as men, not as property—that he will employ them, and keep a regular account of what they earn, and at the end of a certain period pay them their dues, with which they can leave for other regions, where laws will not oppress them."

"Or let him remove from a State, which attempts by law to bind the conscience.

"If he remain, never should he rest till he procure the repeal of such laws."

The Emancipator, commenting on the foregoing, says there is an "obvious error in its principles." The editor will allow us to dissent from his opinion, while we concede that there is an indefiniteness in the language of the extract—an indefiniteness however, which it was quite unnecessary for the Vermont Chronicle or Emancipator to mistake.

We will suppose a State, (I say not that there is such a State,) where the legal form of a deed of emancipation cannot be had. This is what we had reference to, when he talked of the laws preventing emancipation. What should a slaveholder, a convert to the doctrines of abolition, do with his slaves, in such a State? How would our friend Leavitt, supposing him to be the slaveholder, cease to be such—for we both agree that this would be his immediate duty? "If he had money enough," would he not send them out of the State—in other words, furnish them with the means of conveyance to where they might enjoy freedom?—(He knows very well that our meaning is not, expatriation.) Or would he not remove from a State, "which attempts by law to bind the conscience"—of course talking his slaves with him, to where they could be free? For this, it is "obvious," must have been our meaning.

But, perhaps he might be unable to remove, and unable also to furnish his slaves with the means of conveyance out of the State, what then? He cannot procure a deed of emancipation, recognizing them as free men; the laws will allow of no such instrument or writing. What must he do? Plainly, one of two things: either "tell them they are free," utterly disavow any claim of any kind to their persons or their services, "admonish them of the danger of staying where they are," and "bid them God-speed to a free State;" or, if they will not go, give them shelter and protection, tell them they are not his slaves, but that, if they wish to be employed, he will employ them on the same terms, in the same way he would employ free white laborers—keeping with them a regular account, and at any time they should ask, pay them their dues,—all the while endeavoring to procure the repeal of the wicked laws which prevent him from making them as free in form as in fact. We ask, where is the "obvious error," in any one of these alternatives! The Vermont Chronicle thinks it would be the master's duty to continue to his slaves the protection of his legal or formal ownership, till they could be in some way out of danger, &c. We think not, decidedly not, wherever the master could in any way terminate his legal ownership; for, in such circumstances, should he continue it, he would certainly be doing evil, that good might come; he would certainly, for the sake of



exercising benevolence towards some few slaves, be guilty of upholding a system which is continually inflicting wrong and outrage and unpeppable agonies on millions of human beings, and whose radical, unalterable principle is, *Ex against God and man.*

But our hypothesis embraced a case, wherein the laws would absolutely prevent a master from throwing off his legal or formal ownership. In this case let the master proceed to the utmost point of his ability, and make his slaves substantially free before God, and then, whatever guilt there may be in a formal or legal ownership is not his, but rests on the heads of those who enacted so abominable laws.

We think that the brief way in which we formerly expressed our thoughts, may have led the Emancipator to mistake our meaning. We do not know that there is in any State, a law which prevents the master from conferring a legal deed of emancipation. It is true that he exercises this right always under great responsibilities, amidst great difficulties; but we do not believe that immediate abolition will recognize as valid any plea set up in defence of his not exercising this right when he has it. If the Emancipator has been mistaken, we shall be pleased to see it say so.

**Anti-Slavery Little Girls.**

A friend has had the kindness to forward us a little semi-monthly paper, in manuscript form, published by the Female Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society at Elyria. It is a very pleasant little paper, and we shall introduce its title, together with some of its articles, to the notice of our friends. These youthful advocates of liberty have hit on an ingenious mode of making their meetings interesting and profitable.—*Ed. Phil.*

**From the Star of Liberty.**

**The North Star.**

"A star it is said from the North is now gleaming,  
Which guides the oppressed to the land of the free;  
And while its bright radiance is glowing and beaming,  
The fugitive flies for his blest liberty.  
O'er mountain and valley, through streamlet and river,  
Supported by Heaven, the Author and Giver,  
Of the land which he sighs for, the land of the free;  
And while he speeds onward, through perils and dangers,  
The sound of a leaf fills his soul with dismay;  
And he seeks not for refuge or rest among strangers,  
Lest some should decry him and take him away,  
To the land which he came from, the land of oppression,  
Of cruelty, terror, of anguish and blood;  
Of hatred and murder, and every transgression,  
Which spring from enslaving the image of God.  
And when nature sinks and his spirits all languish,  
No angel of mercy can offer relief;  
The day-star but warns him to hide him from danger,  
And all that looks cheerful but wakes up his grief:  
But the light which gleams forth from the star of the North—  
The star which directs to the land of the free."

A. H. L.

"Society would be very different from what it is now, if every one loved his neighbor as himself. This is a rule which God has given us, and which if obeyed, would greatly promote the happiness of mankind. If all were governed by this rule, we should not find people slandering their neighbors and trying in any way to injure them. We should not see people unhappy when others are prosperous. If this principle prevailed, the poor would not be oppressed by the rich, as they are in many countries, and robbed of their just rights and obliged to labor hard to support them, while they themselves live in affluence and luxury. We should not have among us so cruel a system as slavery. If the slaveholder did in any measure conform to this rule he would soon liberate his slaves. If this rule were obeyed, we should see every one trying to increase the happiness of those around him. If we had the spirit which this rule enjoins, we would not only sympathize deeply with the poor slave, but we would exert ourselves and do all we can to alleviate their sufferings. The cause of the slave is indeed one in which every person ought to feel a deep interest. It is strange that any one should think that the Bible sanctions slavery."

MARION.

**Dialogue.**

"Susan.—Mother, I wish I had a nigger to wait on me; it would make me feel so big and clever, I should like it."

Mother.—Child, what do you mean by a nigger; why, what is a nigger?

Susan.—Why, it is a black person, I always hear them called niggers. What should they be called mother?

Mother.—Why my love, if nigger is an epithet of contempt, it should never be applied to any but people who merit such treatment by their own misconduct, and who would be so wicked as to pour contempt on a person because he is black? Did not God create him, and give him exactly the color he chose to give him, and who would be so presumptuous as to speak contemptuously of the works of God?

Susan.—Mother I never thought of such a thing before. I have always heard them called niggers, and never thought any thing about it, and it really does seem as if there ought to be some distinction between white and black people."

Mother.—My dear, do you suppose that the wife of Moses and the Queen of Sheba should have been treated with contempt because they were black? And if you were to read the history of some of the eastern nations, you would find that some of their most renowned statesmen were black, and color and complexion were never taken into consideration among them."

And, Susan, if you will come to my room to-morrow, I will give you something to read on the subject, that will give you more light, but I must leave you now."

ADIEU.

"I wonder if the members of the Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society have thought to pray for Congress, who are now in session; and while we petition them shall we not send our petition to Heaven, to awaken their consciences, to see their sins, to incline their hearts to listen to our petitions and grant our request. We believe that the hearts of all men are in the hands of the Lord, and he can turn them as the rivers of waters are turned. Let us, therefore have faith in God and pray."

A FRIEND.

**Monomania.**

Nothing is more common than for persons of a phlegmatic habit, to stigmatize an ardent zeal in the pursuit of any object, as *monomania*. They discourse most learnedly on the evils of "*monomania raisonnante*," and "*monomania instinctive*," and wonder that men should be such fools as to subject themselves to the "domination of an exclusive idea." It seems never to strike them, that what they choose to call insanity, is nothing but a well-proportioned zeal, legitimately arising from certain enlarged and vivid conceptions, which their "philosophy never dreamt of." Have such forgotten that as much

mischief results from the torpor which can feel nothing, and the dullness which is equally rapid on all subjects, as from that fire of temperament and keenness of perception which so often flash out in the character of the "*monomania*?"

For our part, we prefer madness, as these gentlemen call it, to steadfast, unmovable, always abounding stolidity. Rather let us see a fertile, quickening soil, though it send up a rank growth of weeds, than an arid waste, without herb, fruit, flower or fountain. Give us power, living, leaping, restless power, though occasionally misdirected, rather than the ice-bound philosophy of a mind, that cannot dilate with a grand idea or glow with a generous emotion.

Were there less public torpor, were the public mind more vigilant and keenly sensible in relation to public evils, there would be fewer manifestations of an excessive, exclusive zeal. The mental stagnation, the utter heartlessness of the phlegmatic part of the community, oppose such obstacles to all reforming processes, it is no wonder that men who think and feel with power, should at times be driven beyond the point of healthy excitement. These phlegmatic croakers help the growth of national evils, by administering stupefying draughts to the common sense and moral sense and public spirit of the mass; and when abuses reach such a height as clearly to call for remedy, they are prompt to confer on him, who would find it, the honorable title, "man of one idea," "victim of an hallucination," "fit subject for medical advice," "*monomania*."

They will not think themselves, lest they should become *monomaniacs*. They will not feel, lest they become *monomaniacs*. If they be ministers, though the evil be a religious one, they will not read about it, talk about it, preach about it, write about it, pray about it, lest they might happen to read, talk, preach, write, and pray themselves, *monomaniacs*.

In the vocabulary of these torpid fault-finders, Jesus Christ was a *monomaniac*. Some said he was possessed of a devil, so intent did he appear on developing and establishing the "one idea," the truth of his mission, as the Messiah. Paul was a *monomaniac*, so exclusive and ardent was he in his attachment to the "one idea," Jesus Christ and him crucified. "Paul, Paul, thou art beside thyself, much learning hath made thee mad." What a pity Festus knew nothing of the very discriminative phrases, "*monomania raisonnante*," and "*monomania instinctive*!" "Paul, Paul, thou art infected with the reasoning *monomania*." What a parcel of *monomaniacs* had Nero to deal with! So strange an "hallucination" had got the "domination" over the minds of a certain class of zealots called Christians, that they even hugged the stake, and shouted the name of their master triumphantly in the midst of careering flames, thus keeping up their frenzy to the last.

The earnest advocacy of right principles usually termed abstractions, is the "*hallucination*" of these days. Indignation at crime, veneration for free principles, active pity for the victims of oppression, forecast as to the evils which an accursed policy has in reserve for this nation, disregard of the prejudices of men, fear of the coming judgments of God, are all so many symptoms of "*monomania*." A minister shall pray for the heathen in the "utmost parts of the earth" every Sabbath day, and his congregation uniting with him in accordant devotion, will think him a most reasonable man; but let him beseech God to look on the afflictions of two millions of his fellow-countrymen in chains, and lo! the verdict goes forth, he is a *monomaniac*.

Now we assume our self-complacent adversaries, that we have no more admiration for their torpor, than they have for our mania. Rather let our souls be moved too much, than not at all. Though the wind may blow a gale, yet through vigilance and skill, the good ship shall make rapid headway; but, in a dead calm her course is arrested, and unless a breeze spring up, she must rot just where she is. More welcome the perils of the storm, than the perils of an eternal calm!

**From the Cincinnati Daily Gazette.**

**Slave Insurrection.**

The occurrence of a proposed insurrection amongst the slaves, at Alexandria, in Louisiana, was adverted to on Saturday. We have now some further particulars. The following is from the New Orleans True American of Oct. 19:

"By the Brian Borhorne, arrived yesterday from Red River, we learn that a plot among the slaves, had been discovered, which is said to have been better planned and managed than any before known. It appears that a slave of a planter, Mr. Compton, informed his master, that the negroes were forming plans to kill all the white males, and to spare the females and children—and that if he would go to a certain meeting house, where his negroes assembled for the purpose of preaching, he would discover all their plans. Mr. Compton, did go in company with four others, but learned very little more of the matter. His informant then told him, that the ring leader of the gang, was one of his own slaves, and that he had sworn vengeance against his master, for taking him out of his house and sending him to the field.

The plan of this fellow, it appears, was, to raise an insurrection, first at Alexandria, next at Natchitoches, and then to turn their steps to Orleans and kill all the whites; the negroes, however, could not agree, which frustrated all their plans. One party was for sparing the women and children, the other for an indiscriminate massacre. Mr. Compton upon learning these facts, arrested his house servant, the chief, and he confessed on the gallows that it had been his intention to kill his master."

On the 10th and 12th instant, nine were hung, and 30 others were taken and imprisoned; it is hoped that all their plans will be fully discovered. A strong patrol and guard is constantly kept up by day and night, and confidence is continued.

Besides the slaves, three free negroes were hung, and it was intended to drive away all free persons of color.

We have further heard a report that Mr. Fuzin had shot a white man who had been completing with the slaves; a Spaniard was also taken but made his escape. A letter, it is said, from the pious and philanthropic Arthur Tappan was found on the person of one of the slaves, inviting them to the deed."

The Bee of the same date contains the following:

"By the Brian Borhorne from Alexandria, information by passengers and letters has been received of an extensive insurrection, which was to have taken place on the night of the 7th at Bayou Rapide, a few miles from Alexandria, but for the discovery of the plot by one of the parties, on the 5th, who made a confession to his master. About 50 negroes were immediately arrested on the 10th, 11th and 12th; 9 of the principal leaders were hung in Alexandria, 3 of them were free; there are about 40 in jail awaiting their trial.

"Two companies of United States troops have been stationed throughout the disaffected district. Every thing is now quiet and the negroes completely subdued."

The True American article is in an exceptional spirit. It seeks to attribute the crime to religious associations for worship, among the slaves, and it imputes to Arthur Tappan a letter which he is incapable of writing as is John C. Calhoun himself.

The fact, noted by the article from the Bee, is worthy of a passing remark. The Southern politicians furiously denounce a rightful power, in Congress, to touch the subject of slavery, yet at the first appearance of slave insurrection, these parties claim the performance of the connection, engagement to quell domestic disturbances. And it is instantly afforded, as evidenced, in the South. And it is instantly afforded, as evidenced, in the South. And it is instantly afforded, as evidenced, in the South.

ified, widened and extended, or narrowed and restricted, as experience may show to be necessary.

And the military force is paid out of the Treasury of the United States, into which is poured the money of the North, as well as of the South. And yet we have no right to think or speak of that system, which is thus making draughts for its support on our pockets! The South, by virtue of the Federal Constitution demands of the northern people, that they shall be her slave catchers and slave-killers; still there are those who tell us, that we have nothing to do with slavery!

The Cincinnati Whig quotes the rare incident about the letter from Arthur Tappan, without comment. Is he wise enough to believe it?

The editor of the Cincinnati Evening Post with characteristic reference to his deep interests in the great railroad (that is to be), makes a propitiatory sacrifice to the South, by heading his report of the Insurrection, "*Fruits of Abolitionism*." It is too late in the day to attempt to palm such nonsense on an enlightened community.—*Ed. Phil.*

**The Slave's Complaint.**

Am I sadly cast aside,  
On misfortune's rugged tide?  
Will the world my pains deride  
For ever!

Must I dwell in Slavery's night,  
And all pleasure take its flight,  
Far beyond my feeble sight,  
For ever!

Worst of all, must Hope grow dim,  
And withhold her cheering beam?  
Rather let me sleep and dream  
For ever!

Something still my heart surveys,  
Groping through this dreary maze:  
Is it Hope?—then burn and blaze  
For ever!

Leave me not a wretch confined,  
Altogether lame and blind—  
Unto gross despair consigned,  
For ever!

Heaven! in whom can I confide?  
Canst thou not for all provide?  
Condescend to be my guide  
For ever!

And when this transient life shall end,  
Oh, may some kind, eternal friend  
Bid me from servitude ascend,  
For ever!

Reader, this is the lament, not of some favored poet, whose fancy delights to pour forth strains of fictitious misery; but of a slave—of one, whose lot was to labor without reward and live without object; to endure the pang of being owned as a brute, treated as a brute, ranked with the brute. The little pamphlet, from which we take the above, contains several other poems, of considerable merit, considered in themselves, but of great merit considered in connection with the disheartening, disqualifying circumstances under which they were produced.

George, was the property of a Mr. Horton, of North Carolina. He was a field-hand;—worked promiscuously among the other slaves, and lived in the greatest simplicity. He was unable to write, but could read a little, and his attention was devoted to poetry, for which he had no more leisure than other slaves in his circumstances. What he would dictate, others would write down, and a few years ago many of his pieces appeared in the Raleigh Register, and some in the Boston papers.

Several white persons becoming interested in him, it was determined that an effort should be made to purchase his freedom and send him to Liberia. A few of his poems were collected and published just as he dictated them, without any correction, and it was designed to apply the proceeds for his benefit. This was in 1829. The effort to free him did not succeed.

A second edition of these poems has just been published by L. C. Gunn, of Philadelphia. The preface contains a few items of some interest.

**PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.**

Of these poems, the present publisher has never seen or heard of but one copy, which was recently obtained by JOSHUA COFFIN, of this city, from a gentleman who met with it in Cincinnati a few years ago. The pamphlet is republished, without any alterations,—even verbiage, except the insertion of the headline, "Poems by a slave," over the pages, and the omission of the title page, which ran as follows:

"The Hope of Liberty, containing a number of poetical pieces, By George M. Horton. Raleigh, printed by Gale & Son, 1829."

Observe this, that Gales, the printer of the pamphlet, is now one of the firm of Gale & Seaton, at Washington,—no abolitionist. 2nd. The publisher admits slavery to be "the lowest possible condition of human nature," and that the slaves are not all happy; for George "felt deeply and sensitively." 3d. The man who could write such poems was kept for 32 years in "the lowest possible condition of human nature," and was to remain there if he would not consent to go to Liberia.

Whether the poems sold for sufficient to buy this man, so dangerous to "Southern institutions," and export him, I have not been able to ascertain. Perhaps George is still a slave!

Philadelphia September, 1837.

Immediately after the present edition was issued, the following letter was put into my hands. PUBLISHED.

Washington, September, 12th 1837.

DEAR SIR:—I have inquired of Mr. Gale, agreeably to your request, to ascertain the present condition of George M. Horton. He informs me that he is still the slave of James Horton of Chatham County, and is employed as a servant at Chapel Hill, the seat of the University of North Carolina. It is understood by Mr. G. that he did not derive much pecuniary profit from the publication of his poems; and that, since the death of his patron, the late Dr. Caldwell, President of the University, he has attended to other occupations.

I am, Yours truly,

M. JOSHUA COFFIN.

Poor George then is still a slave—still doomed to mourn now as years ago he mourned,

Alas! and am I born for this,  
To wear this slavish chain?  
Deprived of all created bliss,  
Through hardship, toil and pain!

How long have I in bondage lain,  
And languished to be free!  
Alas! and must I still complain—  
Deprived of liberty.

Oh, Heaven! and is there no relief  
This side the silent grave—  
To soothe the pain—to quell the grief  
And anguish of a slave!

We shall select one more specimen of his poetry.

**On the Truth of the Saviour.**

Even John the Baptist did not know  
Who Christ the Lord could be,  
And bade his own disciples go,  
The stranger even to see.

They said, Art thou the one of whom  
'Twas written long before?  
Is there another still to come,  
Who will all things restore!

This is enough, without a name—  
Go, tell him what is done;  
Behold the feeble, weak and lame,  
With strength rise up and run.

This is enough—the blind now see,  
The dumb Hosannas sing;  
Devils far from his presence flee,  
As shades from morning's wing.

There are bold thoughts well expressed in the following verses.

See the distressed, all bathed in tears,  
Prostrate before him fall;  
Immanuel speaks, and Lazarus hears—  
The dead obeys his call.

This is enough—the fig-tree dies,  
And withers at his frown;  
Nature her God must recognize,  
And drop her flowery crown.

At his command the fish increase,  
And loaves of barley fall—  
Ye hungry eat, and hold your peace,  
And find a remnant still.

At his command the water blushed,  
And all was turned to wine,  
And in redundancy flowed abroad,  
And owned its God divine.

Behold the storms at his rebuke,  
All calm upon the sea—  
How can we for another look,  
When none can work as he!

This is enough—it must be God,  
From whom the plagues are driven;  
At whose command the mountains nod  
And all the Host of Heaven!

Unextinguishable indeed must be the fires of a soul which can thus glow and burn in the midst of the "death-damps" and freezing horrors of Slavery!

**Southern Convention of Merchants.**

The proceedings of the Southern Convention should arouse the attention of northern people. It was not a convention of merchants, but of ambitious politicians, of whom McDuffie and Calhoun are fair representatives. The immediate object is, to devise means for effectually opening a direct trade between the South and Europe,—which, if it could be accomplished, would make the Southern States as much dependent substantially on Great Britain, as they were while provinces, before the War of Independence.—Their ultimate object is, a disruption of the Union; for what under heaven could induce them to make so prodigious efforts to divert capital from its natural channel, to dissolve all commercial connection with the north, and to seek to fasten themselves to Great Britain as a commercial dependency, but hostility to the Union? These men advocate a divorce between national government and the banking operations of the country, because they would lessen the importance of the Union. They endeavor in all points to restrict the powers of the Federal Government and enlarge those of the State sovereignties, because they would make the Union worthless. They would resist the decisions of the Supreme Judiciary, and nullify national legislation, because they would make the Union powerless. What is the reason of all this? Such conduct, so strange, so unnatural, so hostile to the true glory and interests of these United States, must arise from some motive of extraordinary power; for such men as Calhoun and McDuffie are not to be driven about by every wind. The secret of all is simply this: the system of labor at the north is free, in accordance with the nature of man, the spirit of the age, the decided requisitions of Christianity, favorable of course to wealth, intelligence, purity, population and power, but demanding the protection of an efficient Government. The labor of the South is forced, violative of the nature of man, the laws of God, of course of all those principles on which peace, security, good morals, general intelligence, ultimate wealth, population and power, depend; inimical to the spirit of the age, hostile to a government of law, but demanding the control of irresponsible power.

Calhoun, McDuffie, and all of that genus, have no love for the Union, because they want to remove their slave-system as far as possible from all danger of being intermeddled with by the General Government. They hate the Union, because the prosperity of the free States forces upon their notice the infinite advantages of free over coerced labor. They hate the Union, because the connection subjects them to a thousand influences at war with their slave-institution. They hate the Union, because they are a species of petty aristocrats, feudal lords, and their institutions belong to the dark ages, to the ages of chivalry, crime, and oppression; while their northern brethren, to whom they are wedded, are travelling peddlers, sweating farmers, dingy mechanics, bustling store-keepers. Your silken handed, unsoldiered cavalier of the South, of no more political account than the hard-fisted operative of the North!—Bah! he cannot endure it.

We hesitate not to say that this Southern Convention of merchants aims at a substantial if not formal dissolution of the Union—for the sake of securing slavery perpetually, not against the abolitionists, but against the CONTINUALLY AGGRESSIVE INFLUENCES OF THE FREE-LABOR INSTITUTIONS of the North and West.

Will not the press of the free States open its eyes!—What says it to the convention of Southern merchants—alias, nullifying, ultra slave-holders?

**Coming Right on one Point.**

Since our last number we have received a Liberator of October 27th, in which is a communication from J. G. Whittier. He says, "The only just ground of objection against the Massachusetts Society, is its connexion with the Liberator. This connexion is wrong, and must be dissolved." Mr. Whittier takes the right ground. It is just as wrong as it would have been for the American Anti-Slavery Society to have continued the agency of H. C. Wright, when assured that this gentleman would not refrain from disseminating, in connexion with abolition doctrines, his notions concerning peace, government, &c. Mr. Whittier intimates in his communication, that Mr. Garrison's views fully accord with his own. If this be so, why should there be a postponement of action till "the next anniversary?" Immediate action will be as expedient in this matter, as in many other matters.

**Quite Enlightened.**

Slaveholders are becoming quite enlightened. They seem to have just discovered that the business of a merchant is a respectable. In the report of their convention, it is said,

"The pursuits of commerce must be liberalized, the commercial class must be elevated in public opinion to the rank in society which properly belongs to it. The avocation of the merchant requires as much talent, and is of as much dignity and usefulness, as any other pursuit or profession; and the senseless prejudice which would assign to it an inferior rank, has been blindly borrowed from those ancient republics and modern despotisms, whose policy it was to regard war as the only honorable pursuit."

Quite a mistake, gentlemen. This senseless prejudice is indeed—one of the many monsters born of your slave system.—*Ed. Phil.*

**What the Texans Think.**

"The New York Evening Star, has the following paragraph:

"WHAT THE TEXANS THINK OF A UNION WITH US.—The Vice President of Texas, the gallant General Mirabeau Lamar (of Georgia,) who fought so heroically in the bloody battle of Jacinto, said in a brilliant speech he delivered at the dinner lately given him at Mobile, that the people of Texas would never consent to a political union with the abolitionists, headed by such men as

Adams and Channing. But they had no objection to a connexion with the South."

We presume there was neither wisdom nor patriotism enough in those who heard this insensate speech, to rebuke such insolence. We fear that the South may yet be tempted to play a treacherous game. "No objection to a connexion with the South?" No doubt the gallant General Lamar" and the nullifying ultra-slaveholding gentry fully understand each other. It is quite possible that slavery may ere long, in addition to its other curses, bring forth Treason.—*Ed. Phil.*

**QUESTIONING CANDIDATES.**—This course, so happily begun in Rhode Island, has been faithfully pursued in many parts of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and is now in process in Massachusetts. The cry is, of course, raised, that Abolitionists are turning political partisans. But so long as they pursue a judicious and impartial course towards all the candidates, the very persons who raise this clamor must know that abolitionists are not partisans. They are only exercising their just rights, in a lawful and honorable way, for the attainment of a great object connected with our national welfare. Politicians, of course, are excited, because they cannot prevail upon conscientious electors to become mere tools of party aggrandizement. If organized political parties present candidates for office, who are destitute of that first of all republican virtues—a conscientious regard for the interests OF ALL MEN, they must no longer count on the support of consistent Abolitionists. Says the Commonwealth Gazette, Ohio, "An Abolitionist sternly demand of the party candidates for the Legislature: their views of the tyrannical and cruel laws on our Statute Books. They do this that they may not by their votes, sustain laws which are a disgrace to our State, and a reproach to the age in which we live. They do it that they may not leap in the dark and travel blindfold. They do it that the devotees of the party may know, and act on that knowledge, that if they expect the votes of abolitionists, they must select candidates for the Legislatures who will do honor to those places, by their devotion to the cause of human Liberty. If this be branded by hot headed and unprincipled men, as 'bringing Abolitionism into politics' I for one, sir, would have them understand, that when Abolitionists act, whether by depositing their vote in the ballot box, or when by speech or the press, they denounce oppressors and oppression, they do it from the deep conviction of duty, and not from the tyrannical mandate of Party. This course is not 'carrying Abolitionism into politics' any more than every honest man is bound by his integrity, to carry his principles out in all his conduct; and those abolitionists, if there be such, who do not perceive this, would do well to learn their first lesson, 'Be just and fear not.'"

This stand Abolitionists must take, or their principles and professions are a bye-word and a mockery. It is the dread of this stand which carries consternation into the ranks of reckless partisans. Let Abolitionists be true to their principles, and learn for the thousandth time, that their most effective measures are those which have carried terror into the ranks of enemies, and have been doubted only by timid and time serving friends.—*Emancipator.*

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Narrative of CHARLES BALL who was a slave 40 yrs. 1 25  
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Right and Wrong in Boston, 2d. vol. 25  
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Trial of Reuben Crandall 25  
Fourth Annual Report of American A. S. S. 25  
Report of N. York Committee of Vigilance 25  
Quarterly A. S. Magazine 25

ALSO,  
THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC  
for 1838,—\$4 00 per 100—50 cts. per doz. 6cts. single.  
October 27, 1837.

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# POETRY.

## From the Methodist Protestant.

### Aspen-tree to an Angel.

NO. 1.  
Lovely one! with gleaming wings,  
Like a star, from heaven descending,  
Fairer than the flowers of spring,  
Rich in happiness unending:  
Hither come with radiant smile,  
Fold thy golden plumes awhile,  
Let a mortal ear rejoice,  
In the music of thy voice!

### THE ANGEL'S SONG.

From the Palace of the Good,  
Where a moment since I stood,  
Glad I come on new enjoyment,  
With the word of joy!

### The Prospect of Death.

NO. 11.  
Through all the walks of life, the sons of death  
Pursue their errands. Some expand their wings.  
Dark o'er the populous city, and dispense  
Wide from their dripping plumes the horrid plague.  
Some sound the trumpet of battle, call abroad,  
From halls and huts, the chivalry and strength  
Of vengeful lands; reflect by voice and glance  
The roar and flash; and in the rising clouds  
Hover with joy and quail the smell of blood.  
Some smite secluded homes; lead forth the boy  
Of gray-haired hope, and 'tomb him 'neath the wave.  
Send down the lightning at noon-day to scathe  
The state of weakness; and the midnight flame  
Fan, while love shrivels in its dire embrace.  
Some lift the awful bowl to lips obscene;  
Some cast cold billows o'er the shrieking bark;  
Some read the earth to bury all she bears;  
While others seal their victims at their birth,  
And leave a withering blight that must prevail.

### The Resurrection.

NO. 111.  
Adorn thy vales, again, O Earth! with bloom,  
Reclothe thy wooded hills with wonted green,  
Roll on thine ocean waters, and rejoice!  
Thy path is midst the stars! uplift the pomp  
Of chanted glory! Glow round all thine orb!  
Yet know a still small voice shall stop thy course  
When in full grandeur. Dumb shall be thy tongue,  
And hushed thy heart, and dim thine eyes in death.  
Thy mountains shall dissolve to particles,  
And all the quickening surface move with life!  
Thine oceans shall vanish, and their depths,  
Dry in a moment, nations shall disclose,  
Rising from graves o'er which the watchful storm  
Triumphed for ages!

PHILADELPHIA.

# SLAVERY.

## MORALS OF SLAVERY.

OUTRAGES.—It is well known that the most savage  
violences that are now heard of in the world take place  
in the southern and western states of America. Burning  
alive, cutting the heart out, and sticking it on the point  
of a knife, and other such diabolical deeds, the result of  
the deepest hatred of which the human heart is capable, are  
heard of only there. The frequency of such deeds is a  
matter of dispute, which time will settle. The existence  
of such deeds is a matter of dispute. Whether two or  
twenty such deeds take place in a year, their perpetration  
testifies to the existence of such hatred as alone  
could prompt them. There is no doubt in my mind as  
to the immediate causes of such outrages. They arise  
out of the licentiousness of masters. The negro is ex-  
posed by being deprived of his wife,—by being sent out  
of the way, that his master may take possession of his  
home. He steals his master's; or, if he cannot fulfill his  
desire of vengeance, he is a dangerous person, an object  
of vengeance in return, and destined to some cruel fate.  
If the negro attempts to retaliate, and defile the master's  
home, the fagots are set alight about him. Much that  
is dreadful ensues from the negro being subject to the  
lash; but I am confident that the licentiousness of  
the masters is the proximate cause of society in the  
South and South-west being in such a state that nothing  
else is to be looked for than its being dissolved into its  
elements, if man does not soon cease to be called the prop-  
erty of man. This dissolution will never take place  
through the insurrection of the negroes; but by the natu-  
ral operation of vice. But the process of demoralization  
will be stopped, I have no doubt, before it reaches that  
point. There is no reason to apprehend serious insurrec-  
tion; for the negroes are too degraded to act in concert,  
or to stand firm before the terrible face of the white man.  
Like all deeply injured classes of persons, they are des-  
perate and cruel, on occasion, kindly as their nature is;  
but as a class, they have no courage. The voice of a  
white, even of a lady, if it were authoritative, would  
make a whole regiment of rebellious slaves throw down  
their arms and fly. Poison is the weapon that suits  
them best; then the knife, in moments of exasperation.  
They will never take the field, unless led on by free  
blacks. Desperate as the state of society is, it will be  
rectified, probably, without bloodshed.

It may be said that it is doing an injustice to cite ex-  
treme cases of vice as indications of the state of society.  
I do not think so, as long as such cases are so common  
as to strike the observation of a mere passing stranger;  
as to nothing of their incompatibility with a decent and  
orderly fulfillment of the social relations. Let us, how-  
ever, see what is the very best state of things. Let us  
take the words and deeds of some of the most religious,  
refined, and amiable members of society. It was this as-  
pect of affairs which grieved me more, if possible, than  
the stormier one which I have presented. The coarse-  
ness and hardening of mind and manners among the best;  
the blunting of the moral sense among the most conscien-  
tious, gave me more pain than the stabbing, poisoning,  
and burning. A few examples, which will need no com-  
ment, will suffice.

Two ladies, the distinguishing ornaments of a very su-  
perior society in the South, were truly unhappy about  
slavery, and opened their hearts freely to me upon the grief  
which it caused them,—the perfect curse which they  
found it. They need no enlightening on this, nor any  
stimulus to acquit themselves as well as their unhappy  
circumstances allow. They one day pressed me for a  
declaration of what I should do in their situation. I re-  
plied that I would give up every thing, go away with my  
slaves, settle them, and stay by them in some free place.  
I had said, among other things, that I dare not stay there,  
—on my own account,—from moral considerations.  
“What, not if you had no slaves?” “No.” “Why?”  
“I could not trust myself to live where I must constantly  
witness the exercise of irreligious power.” They made  
no reply at the moment; but each found occasion to tell  
me, some days afterwards, that she had been struck to the  
heart by these words; the consideration I mentioned hav-  
ing never occurred to her before!

### Are the Slaves Happy?

A common question, put to me by amiable ladies, was,  
“Do you not find the slaves generally very happy?” They  
never seemed to have been asked, or to have asked them-  
selves, the question with which I replied:—“Would you  
be happy with their masters?”  
One sunny morning, I was sitting with a friend, who  
was giving me all manner of information about her hus-  
band's slaves, both in the field and house; how she had  
“I knew of the fact of four men by summary burn-  
ing alive, within a few months of my residence in the  
United States.

and clothed them; what indulgences they were allowed;  
what their respective capabilities were; and so forth.  
While we were talking, one of the house-slaves passed  
us. I observed that she appeared superior to all the rest;  
to which my friend assented. “She is A's wife!” said I.  
“We call her A's wife, while he has never been mar-  
ried to him. A. and she came to my husband, five years  
ago, and asked him to let them marry; but he would not  
allow it, because he had not made up his mind to sell A.  
and he hated parting husband and wife.” “How many  
children have they?” “Four.” “And they are not mar-  
ried yet?” “No; my husband has never been able to let  
them marry. He certainly will not sell A.”

Another friend told me the following story:—B. fell in love  
with C, a pretty girl, on a neighboring estate, who was  
purchased to be B's wife. C's father was jealous and  
violent, and she was always fancying that B. showed at-  
tention to other girls. Her master wanted her to keep her  
temper, or she should be sent away. One day, when the  
master was dining out, B. came to him, trembling, and  
related that C. had, in a fit of jealousy, aimed a blow at  
his head with an axe, and nearly struck him. The mas-  
ter went home, and told C. that her temper could no longer  
be borne with, and she must go. He offered her the  
choice of being sold to a trader, and carried to New Or-  
leans, or of being sent to field labor on a distant plan-  
tation. She preferred being sold to the trader; who broke  
his promise of taking her to New Orleans, and disposed  
of her to a neighboring proprietor. C. kept watch over  
her husband, declaring that she would be the death of  
any girl whom B. might take to wife. “And so,” said  
my informant, “poor B. was obliged to walk about in sin-  
gle blessedness for some time; till last summer, happily,  
C. died.” “Is it possible,” said I, “that you pair and  
part these people like brutes?” “The lady looked striped,  
and asked what else could be done.

One day at dinner, when two slaves were standing be-  
hind our chairs, the lady of the house was telling me a  
ludicrous story, in which a former slave of hers was one  
of the personages, serving as a butt on the question of  
complexion. She seemed to recollect that slaves were  
listening; for she put in, “D. was an excellent boy,” (the  
term for male slaves of every age.) “We respected him  
very highly as an excellent boy. We respected him al-  
most as much as if he had been a white. But, &c.”  
A southern lady, of fair reputation for refinement and  
cultivation, told the following story in the hearing of a  
company, among whom were some friends of mine. She  
spoke with obvious unconsciousness that she was saying  
any thing remarkable; indeed, such unconsciousness was  
proved by her telling the story at all. She had possessed  
a very pretty mulatto girl, of whom she declared herself  
fond. A young man came to stay at her house and  
in love with the girl. “She came to me,” said the lady,  
“for protection; which I gave her.” The young man  
went away, but after some weeks returned, saying he was  
so much in love with the girl that he could not live with-  
out her. “I pitied the young man,” concluded the lady;  
“so I sold the girl to him for \$1,500.”

### Infatuation.

Of course, in a society where things like these are said  
and done, by its choicest members, there is a prevalent  
unconsciousness of the existing wrong. The daily and  
hourly plea is of good intentions towards the slaves; of  
innocence under the aspersions of foreigners. They are  
as sincere in the belief that they are injured, as their vic-  
tims are cordial in their detestation of the morals of sla-  
very. Such unconsciousness of the milder degrees of  
impurity and injustice as enables ladies and clergymen of  
the highest character to speak and act as I have related,  
is a sufficient evidence of the prevalent grossness of mor-  
als. One remarkable indication of such blindness was  
the almost universal mention of the state of the Irish to  
me, as a worse case than American slavery. I never at-  
tempted, of course, to vindicate the state of Ireland; but  
I was surprised to find no one able, till put in the way, to  
see the distinction between political misgovernment and  
personal slavery; between exasperating a people by polit-  
ical insult, and possessing them, like brutes, for pecuni-  
ary profit. The unconsciousness of guilt is the worst of  
symptoms, where there are means of light to be had. I  
shall have to speak hereafter of the state of religion  
throughout the country. It is enough here to say, that  
if, with the law of liberty and the gospel of peace and pu-  
rity within their hands, the inhabitants of the South are  
unconscious of the low state of the morals of society,  
such blindness proves nothing so much as how far that  
in which is highest and purest may be confounded with  
what is lowest and foulest, when once the fatal attempt  
has been entered upon to make them co-exist. From  
their co-existence, one step further may be taken; and  
in the South has been taken; the making the high and pure  
a sanction for the low and foul. Of this, more here-  
after.

### Degradation of Woman.

The degradation of woman is so obvious a consequence  
of the evils disclosed above, that the painful subject need  
not be enlarged on. By the degradation of woman, I  
do not mean to imply any doubt of the purity of their  
manners. There are reasons, plain enough to the ob-  
server, why their manners should be even peculiarly pure.  
They are all married young, from their being unnum-  
bered by the other sex; and there is ever present an unfor-  
tunate servile class of the other sex to serve the purposes  
of licentiousness, so as to leave them untouched. From  
degradation arises, not from their own conduct, but from  
that of all other parties about them. Where the gener-  
ality of men carry secrets which their wives must be the  
last to know, where the basest and most engrossing con-  
cerns of life must wear one aspect to the other sex, and  
another to the other, there is an end to all wholesome con-  
fidence and sympathy, and woman sinks to be the orna-  
ment of her husband's house, the domestic manager of his  
establishment, instead of being his all sufficient friend.  
I am speaking not only of what I suppose must necessarily  
be; but of what I have actually seen. I have seen,  
with heart-sorrow, the kind politeness, the gallantry, so  
sufficient to the loving heart, with which the wives of the  
South are treated by their husbands. I have seen the  
horror of a woman's having to work,—to exert the facul-  
ties which her Maker gave her,—the eagerness to ensure  
her unearned ease and rest; the deepest insult which can  
be offered to an intelligent and conscientious woman. I  
know the tone of conversation which is adopted towards  
women; different in its topics and its style from that which  
any man would dream of offering to any other man. I  
have often heard the boast of the chivalrous consideration,  
in which women are held throughout their woman's pa-  
radise; and seen something of the anguish of crushed  
pride, of the conflict of bitter feelings with which such  
boasts have been listened to by those whose aspirations  
teach them the hollowness of the system. The gentle-  
men are all the while unaware that women are not treated  
in the best possible manner among them; and they will  
remain thus blind as long as licentious intercourse with  
the lowest of the sex unites them for appreciating the high-  
est. Whenever their society shall take rank according  
to moral rather than physical considerations, whenever  
they shall rise to crave sympathy in the real objects of  
existence; whenever they shall begin to inquire what hu-  
man life is, and wherefore, and to reverence it accordingly;  
they will humble themselves in shame for their abuse of  
the right of the strongest; for those very arrangements  
and observances which now constitute their boasts. A  
lady who, brought up elsewhere to use her own faculties,  
and employ them on such objects as she thinks proper,  
and who has more knowledge and more wisdom than per-  
haps any gentleman of her acquaintance, told me of the  
disgust with which she submits to the conversation which  
is addressed to her, under the idea of being fit for her;  
and how she solaces herself at home, after such provoca-  
tion, with the silent sympathy of books. A father of  
promising young daughters, whom he seeks to be  
crushed by the system, told me, in a tone of voice which  
I shall never forget, that women there might as well be  
turned into the street, for any thing they are fit for. There  
are reasonable hopes that his children may prove an ex-  
ception. One gentleman who declares himself much in-  
terested in the whole subject, expresses his horror of the  
employment of a woman in the northern States, for use-  
ful purposes. He told me that the same force of circum-  
stances which, in the region he inhabits, makes men in-  
dependent, increases the dependence of women, and will  
go on to increase it. Society is there, he declared, “al-  
ways advancing towards orientalism.” “There are but  
two ways in which women can be exercised to the extent  
of her powers; by genius and by calamity; either of which  
may strengthen her to burst her conventional restraints.  
The first is too rare a circumstance to afford any basis for  
speculation; and may Heaven avert the last!” O, may  
Heaven bestow the conditions of woman's fulfilling the  
purpose of her being. There are, I believe, some who

would scarcely tremble to see their houses in flames, to  
hear the coming tornado, to feel the threatening earth-  
quake, if these be indeed the measures who must open  
their prison doors. God has given to them the un-  
rivalled power of the universe. God has caged them in one corner of  
it, and demands their escape from their cage, while man  
does that which he would not have woman hear of. He  
puts genius out of sight, and deprecates calamity. He  
had, however, calculated all the forces in nature. If  
he had, he would hardly venture to hold either negroes  
or women as property, or to trust to the absence of genius  
and calamity.

One remarkable warning has been vouchsafed to him.  
A woman of strong mind, whose strenuous endeavors  
to soften the woe of slavery to her own dependents, failed  
to satisfy her conscience and relieve her human affections,  
has shaken the blood-slaked dust from her feet, and gone  
to live where every man can call himself his own; and not  
only to live, but to work there, and to pledge herself to  
death, if necessary, for the overthrow of the system which  
she abhors in proportion to her familiarity with it. Whether  
we are to call her Genius or Calamity, or by her own  
honored name of Angelina Grimke, certain it is that she  
is rousing into life and energy many women who were  
unconscious of genius, and unvisited by calamity, but  
who carry honest and strong human hearts. This lady  
may be long to have materially checked the  
“advance towards orientalism.”

### Effect on Children.

Of course, the children suffer, perhaps the most fatally  
of all, under the slave system. What can be expected  
from little boys who are brought up to consider physical  
courage the highest attribute of manhood; pride of ac-  
tion and of caste its loftiest grace; the slavery of a part  
of society essential to the freedom of the rest; justice of  
less account than generosity; and humiliation in the eyes  
of men the most intolerable of evils? What is to be ex-  
pected of little girls who boast of having got a negro  
dressed for being impertinent to them, and who are sur-  
prised at the “ungentlemanly” conduct of a master who  
maims his slave? Such lessons are not always taught ex-  
pressly. Sometimes the reverse is expressly taught. But  
this is what the children in a slave country necessarily  
learn from what passes around them; just as the plainest  
girls in a school grow up to think personal beauty  
the most important of all endowments, in spite of the daily as-  
surances that the charms of the mind are all that are worth  
regarding.

The children of slave countries learn more and worse  
still. It is nearly impossible to keep them from close in-  
tercourse with the slaves; and the attempt is rarely made.  
The generality of slaves are as gross as the total absence  
of domestic sanctity might be expected to render them.  
They do not dream of any reserves with children. The  
consequences are inevitable. The woe of mothers from  
this cause are such, that if this “peculiar domestic insti-  
tution” were confided to their charge, I believe they would  
accomplish its overthrow with an energy and wisdom that  
would look more like inspiration than orientalism. Among  
the inculcations of filial piety in nature is the grief of mo-  
thers weeping for the corruption of their children.

### Insensibility to Human Rights.

One of the absolutely inevitable results of slavery is a  
disregard of human rights; and inability even to com-  
prehend them. Probably the southern gentry, who declare  
that the presence of slavery enhances the love of freedom;  
that freedom can be duly estimated only where a particu-  
lar class can appropriate all social privileges; that, to use  
the words of any of them, “they know too much of sla-  
very to be slaves themselves,” are sincere enough in such  
declarations; and if so, it follows they do not know what  
freedom is. They may have the benefit of the alterna-  
tive,—of not knowing what freedom is, and being sincere;  
or of knowing what freedom is, and not being sincere.  
I am disposed to think that the first is the more  
common case.

One reason for my thinking so, is that I usually found  
in conversation in the South, that the idea of human  
rights was—sufficient subsistence in return for labor. This  
was assumed as the definition of human rights on which  
we were to argue the case for the slave. When I tried  
the definition by the golden rule, I found that even that  
straight, simple rule had become singularly bent in the  
hands of those who profess to acknowledge and apply it.  
A clergyman preached from the pulpit the following ap-  
plication of it, which is echoed unhesitatingly by the  
most religious of the slaveholders.—“Treat your slaves  
as you would be treated if you were a slave.” I verily  
believe that hundreds, or thousands, do not see that this  
is not an honest application of the rule; so blinded are they  
by custom to the fact that the negro is a man and a brother.

### Slaveholders Enslaved.

Another of my reasons for supposing that the gentry  
of the South do not know what freedom is, is that many  
seem unconscious of the state of coercion in which they  
themselves are living; coercion, not only from the inces-  
sant fear of which I have before spoken,—a fear which  
haunts their homes, their business, and their recreations;  
coercion, not only from their fear, and from their being  
dependent for their hourly comforts upon the extinguished  
or estranged will of those whom they have injured;  
but coercion also from their own laws. The laws against  
the press are as peremptory as in the most despotic coun-  
tries of Europe; as may be seen in the small number  
of size, and poor quality, of the newspapers of the South.  
I now send in the news to the village of if you were a slave  
newspapers, to empty and poor as those of New Orleans.  
It is curious that, while the subject of the abolition of  
slavery in the British colonies was necessarily a very in-  
teresting one throughout the Southern States, I met with  
planters who did not know that any compensation had  
been paid by the British nation to the West India proprie-  
taries. The miserable quality of the southern newspapers,  
and the omission from them of the subjects on which the  
people most desire information, will go far to account for  
the people's delusions on their own affairs, as compared  
with those of the rest of the world, and for their boasts  
of freedom, which probably arise from their knowing of  
none which is superior. They see how much more free  
they are than their own slaves; but are not generally  
aware that liberty is where all are free. In 1834, the  
number of newspapers was, in the State of New York,  
267; in Louisiana, 31, in Massachusetts, 108, in South  
Carolina, 19; in Pennsylvania, 220; in Georgia, 29.

What is to be thought of the freedom of gentlemen  
subject to the following law? “Any person or persons  
who shall attempt to teach any free person of color, or  
slave, to spell, read, or write, shall, upon conviction there-  
of by indictment, be fined in a sum not less than two hun-  
dred and fifty dollars, nor more than five hundred dol-  
lars.”

What is to be thought of the freedom of gentlemen  
who cannot emancipate their own slaves, except by the  
consent of the legislature; and then only under very se-  
vere restrictions, which makes the deed almost impracticable?  
It has been mentioned that during a temporary sus-  
pension of the laws against emancipation in Virginia,  
10,000 slaves were freed in nine years; and that, as the  
institution seemed in peril, the masters were again co-  
erced. It is pleaded that the masters themselves were the  
repeaters and the re-enactors of these laws. True; and  
thus it appears that they thought it necessary to deprive  
each other of a liberty which a great number seem to have  
made use of themselves, while they could. No high de-  
gree of liberty, or of the love of it, is to be seen here.  
The laws which forbid emancipation are felt to be cruelly  
galling, throughout the South. I heard frequent bitter  
complaints of them. They are the inevitable plea urged  
by individuals to excuse their continuing to hold slaves.  
Such individuals are either sincere in these complaints.

“No notice” taken of any occurrence, however remark-  
able, in which a person of color, free or enslaved, has any  
share, for fear of the Acts which denounce death or im-  
prisonment for life against those who shall write, print,  
publish, or distribute any thing having a tendency to ex-  
cite discontent or insubordination, &c.; or which doom to  
heavy fines those who shall use or issue language which  
may disturb the security of masters with their slaves, or  
diminish that respect which is commanded to free people  
of color for the whites.”

Alabama Digest. In the same section occurs the fol-  
lowing:—“That no cruel or unusual punishment shall be  
inflicted on any slave within this territory. And any  
owner of slaves authorizing or permitting the same, shall,  
on conviction thereof, before any court having cognizance,  
be fined according to the nature of the offence, and at the  
discretion of the court, in any sum not exceeding two  
hundred dollars.”

Two hundred dollars fine for torturing a slave; and  
five hundred dollars for teaching him to read!

or they are not. If they are not, they must be under  
some deplorable coercion which compels so large a multi-  
tude to hypocrisy. If they are sincere, they possess the  
common republican means of getting tyrannical laws re-  
pealed; and why do they not use them? If these laws  
are felt to be oppressive, why is no voice heard denounc-  
ing them in the legislatures? If men complainingly, but  
voluntarily, submit to the laws which bind the conscience,  
it can be said of their love of liberty. If they submit  
involuntarily, nothing can be said for their possession of it.

What, again, is to be thought of the freedom of citi-  
zens who are liable to lose caste because they follow con-  
science in a case where the perversity of the laws places  
interest on the side of conscience, and public opinion  
against it? I will explain. In a southern city, I saw a  
gentleman who appeared to have all the outward requi-  
sites for commanding respect. He was very wealthy,  
had been governor of the State, and was an eminent and  
peculiar benefactor to the city. I found he did not stand  
well. As some pains were taken to impress me with this,  
I inquired the cause. His character was declared to be ge-  
nerally good, I soon got at the particular exception, which  
I was anxious to do only because I saw that it was some-  
thing of public concern. While this gentleman was go-  
vernor, there was an insurrection of slaves. His own  
slaves were accused. He did not believe them guilty,  
and refused to hang them. This was imputed to an un-  
willingness to sacrifice his property. He was thus in a  
predicament which no one can be placed in, except where  
man is held as property. He must either hang his slaves,  
believing them innocent, and keep his character; or he  
must, by saving their lives, lose his own character. How  
the case stood with this gentleman, is fully known to his  
own heart. His conduct claims the most candid construc-  
tion. But, this being recorded as his due, what can be  
thought of the freedom of a republican thus circumstanced?

Passing over the perils, physical and moral, in which  
those are involved who live in a society where recklessness  
of life is treated with leniency, and physical courage  
stands high in the list of virtues and graces,—perils  
which abridge a man's liberty of action and of speech in a  
way which would be felt to be intolerable if the re-  
straint were not adorned by the false name of honor,—it  
is only necessary to look at the treatment of the abolition-  
ists by the South, by both legislatures and individuals, to  
see that no practical understanding of liberty exists there.

Ignorance of the first Principles of Liberty.  
Upon a mere vague report, or bare suspicion, persons  
travelling through the South have been arrested, im-  
prisoned, and, in some cases, flogged or otherwise tortured,  
on pretence that such person desired to cause insurrection  
among the slaves. More than one innocent person has  
been hanged; and the device of terrorism has been so  
practised as to deprive the total number of persons who  
sincerely hold a certain set of opinions, of their consti-  
tutional liberty of traversing the whole country. It was  
declared by some liberal-minded gentlemen of South  
Carolina, after the publication of Dr. Channing's work on  
slavery, that if Dr. Channing were to enter South Caro-  
lina with a body-guard of 20,000 men, he could not come  
out alive. I have seen the lithographic prints, trans-  
mitted in letters to abolitionists, representing the individual  
to whom the letter was sent hanging on the gallows. I  
have seen the hand-bills, purporting to be issued by com-  
mittees of vigilance, offering enormous rewards for the  
heads, or for the ears, of prominent abolitionists.

If it be said that these acts are attributable to the ig-  
norant wrath of individuals only, it may be asked whence  
arose the committees of vigilance, which were last year  
sitting through the South and West, on the watch for any  
unlucky persons who might venture near them, with  
anti-slavery opinions on his mind? How came it that  
high official persons sat on these committees? How is it  
that some governors of Southern States made formal ap-  
plication to governors of northern States to procure the  
dispersion of anti-slavery societies, the repression of abo-  
lition opinions? How is it that the governor of South  
Carolina last year recommended the summary execution,  
without benefit of clergy, of all persons caught within  
the limits of the State, holding avowed anti-slavery op-  
inions, and that every sentiment of the governor was en-  
dorsed by a select committee of the legislature?

All this proceeds from an ignorance of the first prin-  
ciples of liberty. It cannot be from a mere hypocritical  
disregard of such principles; for proud men, who boast a  
peculiar love of liberty and spirit, would not actually make  
themselves so ridiculous as to appear by these outrageous  
proceedings. Such blustering is  
so hopeless, and, if not sincere, so purposeless, that no  
other supposition is left than that they have lost sight  
of the fundamental principles of both their federal  
and State constitutions, and do not actually suppose that  
their own freedom lies in crushing the freedom of their  
own will. No pretence of evidence has been offered of  
any further offence against them than the expression of  
obnoxious opinions. There is no plea that any of their  
laws have been violated, except those recently enacted to  
annihilate freedom of speech and the press: laws which  
can in no base be binding upon persons out of the limits  
of the States for which these new laws are made.

The amended constitution of Virginia, of 1830, pro-  
vides that the legislature shall not pass “any law abridg-  
ing the freedom of speech or of the press.” North and  
South Carolina and Georgia decree that the freedom of  
the press shall be preserved inviolate; the press being the  
grand bulwark of liberty. The constitution of Louisiana  
declares that “free communication of thoughts and op-  
inions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every  
citizen may freely speak, write, and print, on any subject,  
being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.” The  
Declaration of Rights of Mississippi declare that “no  
law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty  
of speech, and of the press. The constitutions of all  
the slave States contain declarations and provisions like  
these. How fearfully have the descendants of those who  
framed them degenerated in their comprehension and  
practice of liberty, violating both the spirit and the letter  
of the original Bill of Rights! They are not yet fully  
aware of this. In the calmer times which are to come,  
they will perceive it, and look back with amazement upon  
the period of desperation, when not a voice was heard,  
even in the legislatures, to plead for human rights; when,  
for the sake of one doomed institution, they forgot what  
their fathers had done, fettered their own presses, tied  
their own hands, robbed their fellow-citizens of their right  
of free travelling, and did all they could to deprive those  
same fellow-citizens of liberty and life, for the avowed  
promulgation of opinions.

Meantime, it would be but decent to forbear all boasts  
of a superior knowledge and love of freedom.

Here I gladly break off my dark chapter on the Morals  
of Slavery.—Miss Martineau.

### From the Cincinnati Journal.

WARREN, Oct. 9th, 1837.

Mr. Chester:—It is made my duty as Stated Clerk to  
transmit to you the following report on Slavery, adopted  
by the Presbytery of Athens at their last meeting, for pub-  
lication.

### A. KINGSBURY, Stated Clerk.

of the Presby of Athens.

“Whereas Slavery as it exists in the United States, is  
not only a political, but a great moral and religious ques-  
tion,—acknowledged to be such, by the religious commu-  
nity in general, and by the Presbyterian church in particu-  
lar, as appears from declarations and decisions of the  
General Assembly at different times, in relation to it; and  
whereas, the great and increasing interest in regard to  
Slavery, which pervades the community seems to demand  
of this Presbytery an expression of opinion; therefore,

Resolved, 1st, That we regard Slavery as productive  
of evil destructive not only of the liberty and happi-  
ness of the Slaves, but also of the domestic peace and  
security of the masters; and denouncing in its influence  
upon all classes of the community where it exists.

Resolved 2ndly, That the laws and regulations, existing  
in some of the states of this union, by which beings made  
in the image of God are converted into things to be bought  
and sold,—the light of knowledge shut out from their  
minds; and conjugal, parental, and filial obligations made  
void; are inhuman, oppressive, and utterly irreconcilable  
with the laws of God, and ought, therefore to be at once,  
and forever abolished.

Resolved 3rdly, That those who, in despite of the light  
that now exists on this subject, continue to buy and sell,  
and hold their fellow men in slavery, merely for the sake  
of gain, or convenience, and those who maintain, and teach,  
that the Bible sanctions these practices, contravene, in so  
doing, the spirit of the Gospel.

Resolved 4thly, That the spirit of prejudice, indulged  
by multitudes, which denies to the colored people the right  
to freedom except on condition of going to a foreign land,  
is unchristian and wicked, and ought to be decisively re-  
buked by the Church of Jesus Christ.”

# ADVERTISEMENTS.

## CONSUMPTION.

It is calculated from the bills of mortality, that every  
fifth person dies of Consumption. The victims to this  
disease are principally those under 35 years of age, com-  
prising the flower and strength of our country. One of  
the best remedies ever yet discovered to arrest this fearful  
malady at the very threshold, is the justly celebrated  
Indian cure for Coughs, Consumption, Spitting of Blood  
and Asthma—the “WATASIA.”

Annexed are some of the many recommendations “at  
might be given from individuals well known, and highly  
respected in extensive portions of our country:

The following is from Rev. J. Spaulding, Secretary  
of the Western Education Society:  
“Mr. Pack.—Dear Sir:—In reply to your question,  
“Has the Watasia been of any service?” I am happy  
to say it has succeeded in my family admirably. The  
case was one of severe Cough, attended with pain in  
the side and breast, and threatening to end in Consump-  
tion. On using the above Medicine, the cough and pain  
have disappeared, and health has been restored.  
To my friends, I do not hesitate to say—TRY IT.”

J. SPAULDING.  
Cincinnati, Dec. 5, 1836.  
For Sale at the Apothecaries' Hall, Cincinnati, Main  
street, one door above Fifth. 80—4f.

## STEAM SCOURING AND CLOTHES-DRESSING EMPORIUM.

The subscriber continues to carry on the Steam Scour-  
ing business, at his old stand on Walnut street, between  
3rd and 4th, and respectfully returns his thanks to the  
citizens of Cincinnati and vicinity, for their former patronage,  
and hopes by strict attention to the business to merit a con-  
tinuance of their favors. His mode of renovating is upon  
the most approved plan. He assures the public that he  
will extract all kinds of Grease, Pitch, Tar, Paint, Oil &c.,  
and restore the cloth to its former appearance without in-  
jury, by means of a composition that he uses expressly for  
that purpose.—Coat collars cleaned without altering their  
shape, and lost colors restored.  
Ladies' habits, table-clothes and garments of all descrip-  
tions, done at the shortest notice, and in the best possible  
style.—This he promises to perform or no pay.

CHARLES SATCHELL.  
Cincinnati, July 26, 1837. 80—4f.  
N. B. Gentlemen's cast-off clothing bought.

## To Country Merchants! BOOK AND PAPER STORE.

TRUMAN &